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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND THREE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIRST MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Tuesday, 30 November 1993, at 5.15 p.m.

President:	Mr. JESUS	(Cape Verde)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. MÉRIMÉE
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. SNOUSSI
	New Zealand	Mr. KEATING
	Pakistan	Mr. KHAN
	Russian Federation	Mr. LOZINSKIY
	Spain	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. TAYLHARDAT

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The meeting was called to order at 5.25 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

CENTRAL AMERICA: EFFORTS TOWARDS PEACE

FURTHER REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL ON THE UNITED NATIONS OBSERVER MISSION IN EL SALVADOR (S/26790)

The PRESIDENT: I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of El Salvador in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Castañeda Cornejo (El Salvador) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on the agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador. This report is contained in document S/26790.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/26820, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

(The President)

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

Before putting the draft resolution to the vote, I shall call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO (Spain) (interpretation from Spanish): I should like at the outset to express my delegation's appreciation for the report of the Secretary-General on developments affecting the activities of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL). The report highlights the fact that the process of implementing the Accords signed by the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberacíon Nacional (FMLN) has continued to make general progress. It should be stressed that this fact is due largely to the will of all the Salvadorian parties and to the effective cooperation of ONUSAL.

However, the report does not conceal the delays and difficulties that have been experienced in the implementation of certain aspects of these Accords, the importance of which is impossible to ignore. Particularly disturbing are the problems that have been encountered in the full deployment of the National Civil Police and the gradual phasing out of the old National Police. In this respect, we should recall that public security policy is one of the critical elements and mainstays of the Peace Accords. All Salvadorian institutions should therefore make an additional effort in this area so as to ensure the provision of financial and technical resources for the National Civil Police and the National Public Security Academy. This matter is certainly sure of receiving the cooperation of the international community.

Also of importance is the reintegration of former combatants from both sides into civilian society. Unfortunately, examples already exist of former combatants' failure to adapt to a new situation. This is not only a personal tragedy; the accumulation of such personal tragedies may impede the effectiveness of the progress that has been made and undermine the stability of the country itself. It is therefore necessary for the transfer of land

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

programmes and other reintegration programmes to be carried out fully and completely and for their implementation to be accelerated. The international community will, of course, respond to the extent that a firm will exists on the part of the Salvadorian political authorities.

In recent weeks, we have become aware of episodes of violence that recall scenes of a past which we had hoped were far behind us. The Secretary-General and the ONUSAL Human Rights Division have shared with us in various reports their concerns at the increase in political violence and its possible imputation to the resurgence of illegal armed groups. There is a need for exhaustive investigation of these groups, not with the aim of digging up old familiar demons but with a view to preventing the violence from continuing to poison the Salvadorian people's potential for coexistence now and in the future.

A few months ago, the Commission on the Truth recommended an investigation of the illegal armed groups. It also made other recommendations, the purpose of which was to strengthen the basis of a fully democratic state of law. A number of these recommendations - in particular those relating to the reform of the administration of justice - have yet to be fully implemented. In this and other cases, the Council reiterates its appeal to the appropriate Salvadorian authorities to do their utmost to comply with these provisions and recommendations.

For the past 10 days, El Salvador has been in the midst of an electoral process that will culminate on 20 March in presidential, legislative and municipal elections, which will mark a significant milestone in the peace process. If these elections are to be truly representative, it is important to provide for the registration of

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

all Salvadorians possessing the right to vote who have requested the appropriate electoral documentation. The report of the Secretary-General describes the progress made in this area, but it also warns of administrative obstacles which have impeded the provision of the appropriate documentation to some electors. All the Salvadorian institutions involved in this process should bear in mind that, although the problems may be administrative in nature, the consequences of their lack of resolution will be political. In this connection, we welcome the assistance which the Electoral Division of ONUSAL is providing to the Supreme Electoral Tribunal to help it resolve these problems.

The draft resolution before us extends the mandate of ONUSAL to 31 May 1994. The following day, 1 June, the elected President of El Salvador will take office. This should mark the end of the transition process in El Salvador and should coincide with the full implementation of the Peace Accords signed by FMLN and the Government. However, the Secretary-General warns us, quite realistically, of the probability that important aspects of those Accords may not yet be implemented by that time. Thus, the Salvadorian exercise will not be able to be considered complete. Here, we take note of the view expressed by the Secretary-General that a reduced ONUSAL presence would probably prove to be necessary beyond 31 May so as to allow it to fulfil the implementation of its mandate. The Council will be considering the views and recommendations that the Secretary-General will provide on this matter in a report requested for 1 May 1994.

Spain wishes to express its firm hope that, despite all the problems that we have described, the political process in El Salvador may come to fruition. Seen as a whole, the Salvadorian

(Mr. Yañez Barnuevo, Spain)

transition process is exemplary. Much remains to be done. However, the commitment of the presidential candidates to the Peace Accords gives us secure grounds for hope that the Accords will be resolutely championed by whomever is elected President, with the full cooperation of all the political forces in the country. The Spanish Government reaffirms its readiness, individually and together with other members of the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General, to continue to support the efforts underway to ensure the full implementation of the Accords and the consolidation of peace in El Salvador.

Mr. TAYLHARDAT (Venezuela) (interpretation from Spanish): The draft resolution before the Security Council renews the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) until 31 May 1994, thus reaffirming the importance of the Peace Accords and of international assistance in verifying them and ensuring their full implementation.

Venezuela welcomes the progress made in this process, the complexity and sensitive nature of which is familiar to us all. As a member country of the Group of Friends of the Secretary-General, Venezuela has worked objectively and constructively to contribute to the peace process. I wish to place on record the appreciation of the Government of Venezuela for the Secretary-General's dedication, personally and through the work of senior Secretariat officials, and that of his Special Representative, Mr. Augusto Ramirez-Ocampo, and all the personnel of ONUSAL in striving to find solutions to the various problems associated with the implementation of the Accords.

The Salvadorian nation is today in the midst of an electoral process that will culminate in March 1994. If these elections are

(Mr. Taylhardat, Venezuela)

to have their full significance for peace and national reconciliation, the full implementation of the Peace Accords is of critical importance. The international community should do everything possible to assist in achieving these goals. It should also publicly confirm its commitment to continuing to support El Salvador as it has done to date, if necessary beyond the end of the electoral process, so as to give full meaning to the aim of firm and lasting peace which has been its target from the outset.

(Mr. Taylhardat, Venezuela)

The draft resolution before the Council identifies, on the basis of the Secretary-General's report, the most delicate pending problems. It would be ingenuous to believe that, in the daily renewal of the country's institutional and political life resulting from the implementation of the Accords, there would be no resistance, uncertainty, practical difficulties or shortcomings. The important point, in our view, is that throughout the process both sides have maintained the will to make peace prevail and to deal in a constructive spirit with the problems and delays that have arisen, striving to identify their specific causes and find agreed solutions. We also understand that the concerns of both parties are magnified and take on unforeseen connotations in an electoral context.

For all those reasons, we appeal to the parties to continue to serve as an example for the United Nations in their efforts to solve the complex problems of peace and national reconciliation. We also express our admiration for the pride and dignity with which they have faced all their difficulties. This inspires us to say that El Salvador has before it a historic opportunity for renewal and that it should not allow the actions of any extremist element to thwart this opportunity. The political violence and resistance to change that have re-emerged still have their partisans in certain sectors. The elections and the full implementation of the Peace Accords, to which the presidential candidates have made a commitment, will marginalize those sectors even more until they understand that only institutional renewal and the reforms advocated in the Peace Accords will make it possible to channel the aspirations of all Salvadorians. This will be a primary responsibility of the winners of the elections held in March of next year.

(Mr. Taylhardat, Venezuela)

It would be extremely disquieting if the United Nations were to detach itself from this process. Venezuela considers that the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) can and should continue to cooperate in the process of peace and national reconciliation in El Salvador, even beyond the mandate we shall renew today. The review of the timetable for implementing the most important aspects of the Accords will enable us to gauge the requirements of this additional undertaking, and we shall look forward to hearing the recommendations to be formulated by the Secretary-General on this matter.

The PRESIDENT: I now put the draft resolution in document S/26820 to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 888 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): This resolution reflects the reality that enormous progress has been made in implementing the Salvadorian Peace Accords. However, it also makes clear to the parties the critical importance of moving ahead now on those provisions not yet fully implemented.

We share the concerns that many here have expressed about the growing violence in El Salvador. Unchecked, the recent killings

(Mrs. Albright, United States)

could undermine a process on which the Salvadorian people have based their future. Several weeks ago Assistant Secretary Watson travelled to El Salvador to deliver a strong message against this violence. We have also vigorously supported the need for a thorough investigation of suspected political killings.

The upcoming elections in El Salvador will in many respects be the culmination of the peace process. With so much at stake, it is imperative that every effort be made to ensure a climate for free and fair elections untainted by violence. We are pleased that substantial progress has been made in registering voters. But, as this resolution stresses, the process must keep moving forward in order to guarantee maximum transparency and participation on one of the most important days in modern Salvadorian history.

In that context, I would mention that President Clinton met today at the White House with President Cristiani and other Central American leaders. I think it is important to acknowledge here the key role that President Cristiani's statesmanship has played in consolidating the peace in El Salvador.

We are confident that, with the continued support of the United Nations, the Four Friends and the international donor community, the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) will meet their commitments. We are confident that they will act with the responsibility, leadership and foresight required to secure their country's future.

Mr. MERIMEE (France) (interpretation from French): France voted in favour of this resolution extending the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) until 31 May 1994. It welcomes the progress made so far in implementing

(Mr. Merimee, France)

the Chapultepec Accords. However, my country regrets that, at the very time when the electoral campaign is beginning, violence is resurging in the country and obstacles are being placed in the way of the implementation of the main provisions of the agreement. France calls on both parties to implement without delay the commitments they entered into and to agree on a timetable for implementing those provisions that have not yet been totally implemented, whether they relate to the establishment of the National Civil Police, the transfer of lands, the reintegration of ex-combatants or the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth.

My country welcomes the Secretary-General's efforts to establish an impartial commission to investigate illegal armed groups. Only the complete elimination of such groups and the full reinsertion of the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN) into El Salvador's political life will make it possible to create conditions of true democracy in the country.

As to the future, though it is too early to say what the role of the United Nations should be in El Salvador after the elections and the installation of the new Government, we feel that the end of the ONUSAL operation should not mean the end of the United Nations presence in the country. We believe that it would be especially useful to continue to provide assistance in the area of human rights so as to ensure the necessary transition, along the lines of what was done in Cambodia. The Centre for Human Rights should be entrusted with that mission. The establishment of an integrated United Nations Office is also a solution that we think bears consideration.

Mr. SARDENBERG (Brazil) (interpretation from Spanish): The peace process in El Salvador is now at a critical, politically defining moment. With the start of the electoral campaign a few days ago, the Salvadorian people is preparing for what is to be the historical culmination of this entire process: the successful holding of elections in March 1994, in fulfilment of the Peace Accords. The consolidation of peace through the free and democratic choice of the people of El Salvador will lay the foundation of a country at peace with itself and dedicated to building, through the efforts and talents of its hard-working people, a future of development and prosperity.

At such an important moment in the consolidation of peace in El Salvador, the Government of Brazil considers it essential for the United Nations to reaffirm its support for the peace process in that Latin American country and its pledge to contribute to the success of the process. We express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, to his Special Representative, Mr. Augusto Ramírez-Ocampo, and to the personnel of the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) for their tireless efforts for peace and national reconciliation in El Salvador.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

Renewal of the verification activities and good offices of ONUSAL for a period of six months is indispensable if the peace process is to continue and come to a successful conclusion. We therefore welcome the fact that the resolution we have today considered and adopted in the Council extends the mandate of the Mission until 31 May 1994. At the same time, we take note of the comments made by the Secretary-General in his report regarding the prospects for the future of the Mission beyond that date.

The latest reports on the situation in El Salvador present information that cannot fail to cause grave concern. We find particularly disquieting the observation that important aspects of the Peace Accords have not yet been fully implemented. We are especially concerned at the recent episodes of violence - possibly politically motivated - which are reminiscent of ideas and practices of the past and completely incompatible with the new El Salvador which is to result from the Peace Accords and the choice of its people in favour of democracy and the rule of law.

As noted by the Security Council in the presidential statement issued on 5 November last, such acts of violence are unacceptable and should cease immediately. The efforts already undertaken to ensure that those responsible for the recent murders are brought to trial are positive. We hope that those efforts will be pursued further and will soon yield tangible results.

We likewise hope that all parties will continue their efforts to ensure the full and timely implementation of all of the provisions of the Peace Accords, including those relating to the National Police, the recovery of weapons held by private individuals, the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth, the transfer of land, and other social reintegration programmes.

(Mr. Sardenberg, Brazil)

In El Salvador it is vital at this stage that the future should carry more weight than the past. We are faced with an unequivocal historic opportunity. The holding of free and democratic elections with full participation by all sectors of Salvadorian society will be the key that will make it possible to close the door once and for all on a period of anguish and disturbance and at the same time to open a new door onto a future of hope and fraternal reconciliation.

The Government of Brazil believes that the peace process in El Salvador is an example of the meaningful contribution the United Nations can make to a people's efforts to solve problems that could affect the security of a region or subregion. Brazil is resolved to contribute to the success of this process and will continue to work to this end in the Security Council and in other bodies of our Organization.

Mr. HATANO (Japan): The signing of the Chapultepec Agreement by the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN in January of last year formally ended the armed conflict and marked a turning-point for both the country and the region.

Japan warmly applauded the good-faith efforts made by both sides in the negotiating process and considered that this progress had demonstrated that peace-keeping and peacemaking may be effectively combined.

As the Secretary-General's report stated, despite a number of obstacles, remarkable progress has been made in implementing the Accords. We are seriously concerned, however, that recent developments could threaten previous achievements, especially as the electoral campaign gets under way. I hope that an independent and thorough investigation of illegal armed groups will be undertaken as soon as possible.

(Mr. Hatano, Japan)

Japan considers that, as stated in the earlier Security Council resolution 832 (1993) on ONUSAL, the forthcoming general election should constitute the logical culmination of the entire peace process in El Salvador. Japan hopes that ONUSAL, which is playing a key role in that process, will ensure the credibility of the elections. Japan thus supported the adoption of this resolution, which demonstrates the international community's steadfast support for the El Salvadorian people. Indeed, their efforts to restore peace to their homeland deserve our admiration and strengthened support.

Mr. LOZINSKIY (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The Russian Federation welcomes the fact that the peace process in El Salvador has moved ahead and that significant progress has been made in achieving many of the goals of the Peace Accords.

Credit here goes primarily to the parties themselves, the Government of El Salvador and the FMLN, both of which made serious efforts to achieve national reconciliation. Undoubtedly, an important role was also played by the United Nations. We note with appreciation and fully support the great contribution made by those in charge of the United Nations Secretariat in promoting full and timely implementation of the Peace Accords in El Salvador.

The settlement in El Salvador has now entered the delicate stage of preparations for the elections which are to be the culmination of the peace process. In this connection, we share the profound concern of the Secretary-General of the United Nations over the human rights situation in El Salvador, particularly with respect to politically motivated murders, but also as regards delays in establishing the National Civil Police, as well as delays

(Mr. Lozinskiy, Russian Federation)

in carrying out the registration of voters and certain socio-economic aspects of the Peace Accords.

All of this has had a negative impact on the political atmosphere and on confidence in the peace process. It is particularly important now to concentrate efforts on ensuring proper compliance with the provisions of the Peace Accords, particularly those concerning the phasing out of the National Police and the full deployment of the National Civil Police, the transfer of land and the carrying out of other reintegration programmes that are of essential importance to the establishment of a new atmosphere and the laying of a solid foundation of respect for human rights in El Salvador.

Pursuant to the recommendations of the Commission on the Truth, an impartial, independent and credible investigation of the activities of illegal armed groups should be carried out as soon as possible. We trust that the parties involved will reach agreement on such an investigation in the very near future.

We welcome the agreement reached between the Government and the FMLN on speeding up the implementation of the Peace Accords. We share the positive assessment by the United Nations Secretary-General of the commitment to peace and stability made by six out of the seven candidates for the presidency of El Salvador. In that commitment, they undertook to support the constructive development of the peace process and to carry out all the obligations contained in the Peace Accords.

We truly believe that the time has come in the settlement in El Salvador for all parties to make the maximum effort to ensure the successful consolidation of the peace process and to make irreversible the democratic changes, full respect for human rights,

(Mr. Lozinskiy, Russian Federation)

and the socio-economic reconstruction of the country, with the active support of the international community.

Accordingly, the Russian delegation voted in favour of the Security Council resolution on extending the mandate of ONUSAL for a regular six-month period until 31 May 1994.

The PRESIDENT: There are no further names inscribed on the list of speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 6.00 p.m.